McCarthyism and the BIG LIE

By MILTON HOWARD

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By MILTON HOWARD

A man is standing on the steps of the U.S. Treasury Building in downtown New York. He is shouting his contempt for any American who believes we can have peace in this world. He says such Americans are "Kremlin dupes." He derides them as "egg-heads and appeasers."

The speaker is Joe McCarthy, U.S. Senator from Wisconsin.

He holds the crowd's attention. He has studied the trade of lashing hysteria into an audience. Five years ago, he was a little known politician. Today, his name has become known throughout the world. He has baptized the political fact known as McCarthyism.

Americans began to get a whiff of this new fact when millions suddenly faced what is now known as "The Reign of Fear."

Three years ago, the President of the U.S.A. startled the world. He said that the American citizens of the state of Wisconsin were afraid to sign a public petition saying they agreed with the democratic principles of the Declaration of Independence!

That was McCarthyism on the march!

Today, this fear to speak has become known in every town, village and city, in the churches, schools, newspapers, and universities.

At the same time, American anger is growing. People are waking up. Millions are saying "Stop!" to this raid on our traditional political freedoms.

What is it all about?

The answer is no mystery.

McCarthyism is not just a certain brutal *method* of hunting down what it calls "subversion," although that is part of it.

McCarthyism is both a *method* and a political *policy.*

McCarthyism uses the brutal *method* to enforce a deliberate *political policy* on the United States.

To attack the "method" without challenging the policy is only a part of the fight against the Reign of Fear.

The fight to save America from McCarthyism can only be won if

the political frauds which underlie the "method"—its false assumptions and its Big Lie—are all challenged directly, head-on, at the same time.

We have seen "McCarthys" before.

Hitler was Germany's McCarthy. Mussolini was Italy's McCarthy. Franco is the McCarthy of fascist Spain.

When the U.S.A., in the 1930's, faced depression, another would-be McCarthy arose. This was the notorious Father Coughlin. While Germany "solved" its crisis of the 1930's by letting the Ruhr industrialists put the Nazis into power, the American people, labor especially, insisted on a different road. They insisted on—and got—the road of the New Deal and democratic advance.

Coughlin summoned the United States to destroy this democratic-Labor advance as the work of "the Jews" and "the Communists." In 1936, Coughlin shouted to America to follow him: "I take the road to Fascism." But America would not follow.

Today, McCarthy raises the same banner with a different slogan on it.

Hitler wiped out democracy and peace while promising "National Socialism" to the German people.

McCarthy seeks to convince America that he is saving its democracy from "aggression," "creeping Socialism" and "infiltration." It is a dead certainty that there will not be a shred of democracy in a McCarthyized United States. America will lie at the mercy of a gang hungry for war as the "solution" to the nation's problems.

How do the "McCarthys" of fascism operate?

Here we get down to the heart of the McCarthy conspiracy. McCarthy has studied well the tricks and strategies of the other "McCarthys" who took over Germany, Spain, and Italy.

In each case, the "McCarthy" conspiracy singled out some aspect of the Big Lie about Marxism and Communism. Once the country fell for that Big Lie, it was sunk.

Hitler told Germany that its troubles—unemployment, poverty, low wages—were a direct result of a "world-wide Jewish-Bolshevik conspiracy" helped by the "Jewish-plutocracies," Britain and the United States. To this, Hitler added the other Big Lie, that the Soviet Union, Britain and the U.S.A. were "encircling it" and robbing it of "living space."

The German people, in large numbers, swallowed this hokum. Those who didn't were jailed or killed as "traitors."

It appalled the civilized world to see intelligent Germans eagerly believing that the key to Germany's economic and social problems was "the Jews" and "the Communists." Franco and Mussolini followed the same pattern in varying degrees.

McCarthyism's "Secret Weapon"

Now, what does McCarthyism tell the people of the United States?

The "secret weapon" of McCarthyism is its constantly repeated lie that America's social and economic development of the past twenty years—from the New Deal, through the war against Hitler, down to the present—can be explained by the presence of "Soviet spies" inside the Federal government, specifically the Roosevelt New Deal and the Truman Fair Deal administrations.

This special McCarthy hoax rests on a number of other deceptions for which there is not, nor can there be, the slightest evidence:

LIE NO. 1. *That Marxism—and the parties which base their activities on Marxism—is a "conspiracy."*

The truth is that conspiracy and Marxism are opposites, since Marxism (and Marxist parties) bases itself on actual, objective social conditions, on the actual movements of millions of people acting in defense of their economic interests. Marxism is the social science which requires for its application the support and approval of millions of people; it cannot be a conspiracy.

LIE NO. 2. *That since the Soviet government is a Socialist government all Communists in other lands are "Soviet agents."*

This is a fraud which deliberately overlooks the fact that Communists in every country must base their views, proposals, tactics, etc. solely on the real interests of their own people and nation. They could never hope, otherwise, to gain the support of the majority of the people, which is their aim. That these social proposals are not in contradictions with the peace policy of the Soviet Union is due to the fact that a Socialist state does not have aims hostile to any other people's interests.

LIE NO. 3. *That the Soviet Union relentlessly seeks "world conquest" as part of the doctrine of Marxism.*

This is a blatant deceit, which even the majority of the non-Socialist world openly refuses any longer to believe in. The unwavering efforts of the Soviet Union for peace with all states, for peaceful co-existence of different social systems, for ending the Korean war, and for outlawing all atomic weapons, has convinced the majority of the human race that the "world conquest" propaganda aimed against it is a lie. There is, for example, in Western Europe not a trace of "civil defense" preparations against "attack."

The above listed lies are standard for professional "anti-Communism." But McCarthyism goes beyond them. McCarthy takes these generalized falsehoods of the "Truman Doctrine" and the "cold war" and whips up something special in the way of the Big Lie.

This is its own special Big Lie which goes like this—

The Soviet government needs "spies" to ferret out the "atomic secret" and other "secrets"; that such "spies" are recruited from the ranks of progressives, New Deal-minded liberals, and from Marxist parties.

Furthermore, for the past twenty years, the Democratic Party administrations of F.D.R. and Truman have been "infiltrated" by this "Soviet conspiracy" and, despite all pleas from the Dies Committee, from J. Edgar Hoover and his F.B.I., the two Democratic Party administrations, as well as top military and political officials, refused to oust "the spies."

As a result—so the story goes—it has fallen to Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin to wage what he calls "my fight against communism in government." He borrows this slogan literally from Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. For any American to refuse to accept this leadership in "My Fight" is to display either active support for the "Communist conspiracy," or to be a "dupe," which is just as bad.

To "sell" this Big Lie—which we shall refute factually—McCarthyism has spawned in the United States a high-powered machinery of professional stoolpigeons, hired "ex-Communist" informers, ready to swear to any myth. Most of them have got rich doing this work (Whittaker Chambers, $100,000; Louis Budenz, $75,000, to cite just two).

The McCarthy myth does not have a single solitary item of evidence for it. It could not have, because it is a myth. But it is a myth built up by millions of screaming headlines in the press. It is a myth which has

great power for evil, just as Hitler's myths about the "Jewish banker plots" helped to destroy millions of lives till he was stopped by the American-Soviet alliance.

As this is written, the McCarthy myth has just been enshrined in an official Senate Report issued by the Jenner Committee.

This is a fantastic piece of political forgery.

The Jenner Committee uses the known fact—and very admirable fact—that there were pro-labor progressives, and even an occasional Marxist, employed by the Government during the New Deal period, to assert that the entire New Deal, its pro-labor and pro-farmer policies, as well as its later war alliance with the U.S.S.R. against fascism was nothing but the "plot" of "Soviet spies."

To show what the McCarthy Big Lie means by "espionage" and "subversion," the Jenner committee actually dares to assert, in the words of a national weekly that "*strikes in the 1930's, the loss of China . . . the so-called Morgenthau Plan*" were due to the fact that "all through the years of the New Deal, conspirators operated close to the seats of power. Their hands were manipulating labor policy in the strike waves of the 1930's. . . . The Morgenthau Plan for turning industrial Germany into a pastoral state was hatched in this group. . . . They tried to get hold of farm policy. . . . [They hatched] the moves that ended with Communist control of China . . . the conspirators are not all exposed and some continue to operate in the Government."

Is it not getting clearer what McCarthyism means by "Soviet spies"?

McCarthyism is trying to sell to the American people the Big Business-NAM philosophy that the historically necessary and inevitable rise of the trade unions during the 1930's in which millions of American workers took part, was not due to the needs of the workers and their determination to fight for better standards, but was a "plot" dictated by far-off "men in the Kremlin."

Similarly, McCarthyism tries to sell the American people the fraud that the enormous social changes in Asia, which led to the Chinese people ousting the grafter-dictator Chiang Kai-shek, were caused not by the poverty and land-hunger of hundreds of millions of peasants, but by American scholars like Owen Lattimore, by the "traitor" General Marshall, and others who simply told some of the objective facts about Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Revolution.

With this lunatic kind of thinking (very similar to the "Jews did it" hoax of Hitler and Goebbels) it only remains for the McCarthyites to prove that America became an ally of the Soviet Union against Japan and Germany solely because there were "spies" in the Roosevelt Cabinet, or maybe because Roosevelt was himself "a Soviet spy."

In fact, this idea has already begun to be broached by the pro-fascist writers of modern history.

Just as American labor's economic needs are wiped out in the clouds of a "Soviet spy plot," so the fascist attack on the United States at Pearl Harbor is wiped out in the theory of "Soviet spies in high places" who would not let America surrender to the fascist Axis.

One Lie Leads to Another

You see how it started and how it works.

McCarthyism first launches the fraud that the Soviet Union needs "spies" to get our "secrets" and determine Washington policies; and that such "spies" are New Dealers or Marxists.

From this fraud, McCarthyism swiftly moves on to enlarge the attack. It now echoes the notorious union-smashing, labor-hating propaganda of the biggest trusts.

In this propaganda, the whole rise of the CIO in the 1930's was a "communist plot." The existence of a popular demand for cheap public power, Federal health protection, and social security, are all viewed as "creeping Socialism," foisted on unsuspecting Americans by "communist infiltration" and the "communist conspiracy."

It was relatively easy to sell to many Americans the lie about "Soviet spies." They could not have the means for seeing its falsity.

The second lie about the "creeping Socialism" of the American labor movement's social program will not be so easy to sell.

But to defend this progressive social program from being wiped out by Big Business forces itching to get back to "the good old days," it is necessary for the American people to see through the lie of the "Soviet spies" and the "communist conspiracy" just as much as they see through the lie about the "creeping Socialism" of public power, Federal health and social security.

For these two lies go hand in hand.

On what is the McCarthyite Big Lie about "Soviet spies" based?

On the absurdity that Soviet science and industry are too backward to be able to master all the elements of modern science and technology required for making the A-bomb and the H-bomb, that they must "steal" our science. But every scientist knows that this is false. They know, and have stated, that in many phases of science, the Soviet Union actually leads the world.

It was not, for example, the Soviet Union which had to try to steal the advanced Soviet-created MIG jet-plane; it was the Pentagon that had to resort to this tactic.

Secondly, there is the falsehood that such "secrets" can be transmitted on scraps of paper. This was charged in the horrible Rosenberg frame-up.

But there is not a single reputable American scientist who will agree with this. On the contrary, America's top atom scientists, Dr. Albert Einstein, Dr. Harold Urey, and Dr. Ralph Lapp of the Manhattan Atom Project, specifically and publicly reject the government's and McCarthyism's frenzied propaganda on this point.

McCarthyism takes the known fact that all modern states have Intelligence Services. It twists it into the Big Lie that since the Soviet Union is socialist, all persons favoring Socialism, or New Dealers favoring American-Soviet friendship, must necessarily be part of "spy rings." Or, that such Americans—who number many millions—must be what McCarthyism brands as "security risks" meaning that they might "steal" some of the non-existent "secrets."

With these ridiculous, irrational notions, McCarthyism uses blackmail (with eager press cooperation) to blanket the United States with what is now known the world over as "a reign of fear."

McCarthyism manufactured the Hiss case to "prove" that New Dealers like Hiss were "Soviet spies." McCarthyism needed a Hiss case to "prove" that the war-time agreements between Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin to create a post-war world without fascist powers was the handiwork of Alger Hiss, one of the scores of State Department assistants present during the negotiations!

Key to the McCarthy Mythology

This frame-up has been badly shaken by the calm analysis of it made by Britain's former Chief Justice, Lord Jowitt in his book *The Strange Case of Alger Hiss.* There is no doubt that America will

sooner or later find out the truth of what Hiss called Whittaker Chambers' "forgery by typewriter." The "secrets" Hiss was supposed to be "stealing" could not have the slightest value to the Soviet Union or any other power, despite the solemn statements to the contrary.

Take the "sensational" testimony of Elizabeth Bentley, another McCarthyite informer helping to build up the myth of "Soviet spy rings."

Miss Bentley proudly informs the McCarthyite committee that certain New Dealer "spies" had created the Morgenthau Plan to deindustrialize Germany because that was in "Russia's interest."

But the Soviet Union was strongly on record against the Morgenthau Plan from the very beginning.

It is only the political illiteracy of the McCarthyites, and their desire to manufacture a myth, which led the Jenner Report to make this "sensational" disclosure which is false on its very face!

Other specimens of the "enormous damage" done by "communist infiltration" are cited by the McCarthyite Jenner Committee. They reveal only the Big Business Toryism of the men making these revelations. Here are some of the alleged atrocities committed by the "spies" as cited or quoted by the Jenner Committee:

• *"The report was a favorable recommendation on a highly controversial health program."* Thus, support for a Federal health plan, long advocated by labor and many doctors, was "espionage."

Another witness, telling about the "spies," relates with horror that the "spies" in the National Labor Relations Board clashed with her view that "the Wagner Act had to be administered in a way to recognize the implicit rights of employers, too. . . ."

In short, this witness was trying to go beyond the Wagner Act to favor the employers and found that the "spies" were pro-labor and would not let her do it!

Another witness reveals that one of the "spies" was "*devising ways and means of having Israel Epstein's book,* The Unfinished Revolution in China, *read by Secretary of State George Marshall, John Foster Dulles, and other leading policy makers of our government.*"

Thus, the purchase of an American book became "espionage."

The Real Target—Democracy

A study of the McCarthyite strategy reveals one main fact about

it. *It is enraged by the fact that the Roosevelt Government, for at least those few years, would not discard the democratic rules of evidence, proof, on which justice is based. The Jenner-McCarthyites demand that when it comes to "communists"—and this means every one they choose to name as such—the traditional rules of proof, legality, and evidence must not apply.*

• Thus, the Jenner-McCarthyites are astounded when a top Government official, John McCloy, Assistant Secretary of War during the Roosevelt administration, said: "*Many persons suspected of advocating subversive doctrines . . . were loyally supporting the war effort.*"

How did this official dare to challenge the McCarthy "infiltration" lie with this fact? What have facts to do with "fighting communism"?

• Even worse, another Government official enraged the McCarthyites by citing the Supreme Court's decision that there was "confusion"—meaning no proof—that the Communists advocated force and violence. What did the McCarthyites care if a pre-McCarthy Supreme Court could not find any facts showing force and violence by the Communists?

• A so-called "atom spy" list manufactured by a stoolpigeon in a Canadian Soviet embassy was so fraudulent when considered in the light of evidence that not even the eager agents of the Truman "cold war" could make a single indictment on the basis of it. Yet, it is just this "naive" reliance on evidence and proof which McCarthy now cites as proof of the need for a "clean-up." America must have rulers who will not be bound by evidence, who will be ready to replace evidence by myth!

Since the FBI could never find any evidence for the "force and violence," the "spy" and "foreign agent" lies about the Communists, these lies are legislated into law, and Smith Act juries jail innocent men and women by the score to uphold the myth by which the nation must be terrorized into silence.

Scream headlines announce that McCarthy has uncovered a "Communist" in the Government Printing Office who had "access to secrets." He was seen to be "stealing a Marine Code Book." In the feverish excitement, McCarthy even hints that "H-Bomb Secrets May Have Been Involved."

But the cold facts turn out to be very different. It turns out that there never was a "Marine Code Book," and that there never were

any "secrets" printed in that office. (*Washington Post,* statement by Philip Cole, August 22, 1953).

But what enraged McCarthy in this case—and it shows what he is after—is that the government office would not fire the smeared victim, even though there was no evidence of any kind against him!

McCarthy wanted him fired simply because he had been accused!

The use of this stable of McCarthyite stoolpigeons and informers (Budenz, Bentley, Whittaker Chambers, etc.), to create the McCarthyite myth of "New-Deal-Soviet spy rings," has caused great damage to American political freedom and to the U.S. Constitution.

It has caused the conservative columnists, Stewart and Joseph Alsop, to say in their syndicated column (Jan. 16, 1953) that the Attorney General "*must investigate the professional informers who now flourish in this country if he cares anything at all for American liberties.*"

It is realized that if a Budenz can wreck top officials' careers with palpable lies, the "professional informer" makes the liberties guaranteed by the Constitution a mockery.

But what gave a Budenz his power as a "professional informer" if not the Truman government's use of him as their mainstay in the frame-up of the Communist Party leaders in the notorious Judge Medina "trial"?

It is a threat to freedom that the Eisenhower leadership eagerly uses this same stable of FBI stoolpigeons for new and bigger Smith Act frame-ups.

Eisenhower's attorney general, Herbert Brownell, has upheld McCarthy's money dealings with corporations seeking political influence from Senate committees of which he was a member. Eisenhower has appointed two open McCarthy agents to the powerful Federal Communication Commission where they can dominate radio and TV. This is a sinister cooperation with McCarthyite fascism for which the American people surely did not vote in 1952!

If a Budenz can frame Communists and the Communist Party with impunity, why should he not be available to frame a Lattimore, an Alsop, or a C.I.O. or A. F. of L. leader, or anyone else displeasing to the McCarthyites?

McCarthyism carefully uses this stable of professional informers

to break down the U.S. Constitution.

Thus, it implies that any American who refuses to surrender his traditional rights, under the First and Fifth Amendments, to the privacy and inviolability of his political belief, must be "guilty of something." This is the logic of the Spanish Inquisition probing heresies. The press sneers at such patriotic Americans as "Fifth Amendment Americans." Why not sneer at "First Amendment Americans" or "Thirteenth-Fourteenth Amendment Americans"? Or "Constitution Americans"?

The United Electrical Workers Union well describes this kind of political frame-up trap: "*The way it works is that a Budenz goes before the Committee and says that someone is a Communist, a spy, a saboteur. Then John Doe is called before the Committee. If he denies the charges, he is cited for perjury. If, to avoid this trap, he refuses to speak, he is cited for contempt. Either way the witness loses.*" (Operation Intimidation, page 28).

The Political Platform of McCarthyism

What are the tests for "loyalty" and "security" which the McCarthyite stoolpigeons cite?

Despite all the frenzied headlines, it is never any action, deed, any actual illegality. It is always the charge that the "spy" has certain political *ideas* different from those of McCarthyism.

Thus, McCarthyism launches the following ideas as absolutely sacred and *un-debatable*:

Atomic war with Russia is inevitable and good. War with China is ditto. Spanish fascism and German fascism are the only "reliable" allies we have, and we must re-arm the old fascist Axis. Chiang Kai-shek must be helped to attack China with American guns, and later with manpower. There must be no negotiations of any kind with the Soviet Union, China or the Pople's Democracies looking to peace or Soviet Union, China or the People's Democracies looking to peace or

This is the political platform of McCarthyism which this cabal is trying to force on the United States under the guise of fighting "communist infiltration in government." It is an out-and-out war policy! It is a policy dangerously hostile to the true national interests of the United States!

McCarthyism shakes its fist at America and commands its people to accept thieving taxes on wages and salaries, the wrecking of schools, Federal power systems, etc.—all in the name McCarthy's "inevitable war with communism." McCarthyism smashes freedom in order to force social decay on the United States!

For this "McCarthy line" flies desperately and insanely in the face of all modern realities.

—It flies in the face of the realities of the Asian colonial revolution which sees fully one-third of the human race rising up to achieve national independence and economic progress.

—It flies in the face of the refusal of the West European majority to re-arm German fascism for "another try" in the Hitler style.

—It flies in the face of the military realities of the atomic and H-bomb situation. Atomic "superiority" is now impossible.

—It flies in the face of America's economic advantage which is to open up the colossal markets of the 800,000,000 people living under Socialist leadership.

Since most Americans consider themselves today as "anti-Communist," McCarthyism makes "anti-Communism" the cover for this war-breeding conspiracy.

But it is McCarthy himself who debunks the illusion that "anti-Communism" is the cause he pursues, and that therefore he can claim the support of the entire country which is also "anti-Communist."

"*Do not be deceived,*" he cries to his future Storm Troopers, "*by any general condemnation or tossing of pebbles at Communism generally. That is a perfectly safe sport indulged in even by Alger Hiss. The test is not whether they are willing to condemn Communism generally. The test is whether they follow a pattern of supporting or condemning the exposure of the sacred cows—the dangerous undercover Communists who have been promoted to positions of untouchability by the Communist and left-wing press.*" (The Fight For America, *by Joseph McCarthy, page* 90.)

There is not a single American, leader or average citizen, who cannot be clubbed down in Storm Trooper fashion by the use of this "test."

To pass this "test" requires from all Americans complete, wholesale, and continuous submission to McCarthyism's demands on every issue, every personality, and all the time!

Does not this raise for the growing, courageous, patriotic anti-Mc-

Carthy resistance movement the sharp question of its relations to the "anti-Communist" Big Lie which so many of its groups and followers still blindly accept?

An anti-McCarthy newspaper deplores his "methods," but admits that "Congress has the right to probe who is disloyal and who is not."

But that is exactly what Congress does not have the right to do, if the First Amendment is to have the slightest practical meaning! For "loyalty," so defined, is not a legal concept, except under tyrannies. It is a political one, and political ideas must be allowed to clash in the market place of ideas for the people freely to choose!

Others often say that so-and-so was falsely "accused" of being a Communist. This is true in many cases. But can the frame-up be effectively fought if the McCarthyite assumption that it is a crime to be a Communist is not challenged head-on?

Every criticism of any aspect of McCarthyism is valuable for America. But the defense of democratic liberty will be partial and unsuccessful in the end, if the non-Communist majority leaves in McCarthyism's hands its major weapon—the Big Lie about the nature, aims and practice of Marxism and Communism.

This does not in any sense whatever mean that to fight McCarthyism one must take a stand of agreement with the outlook or philosophy of working class Socialism. On the contrary, the anti-McCarthy movement, to save American democracy, must inevitably be a movement in which the Communists are a small minority, since the present majority is non-Communist or even anti-Communist (as they understand Communism).

But the non-Communism, or even "anti-Communism," of the anti-McCarthy movement must insist on the democratic rights of the Communists within the movement, and within the country!

The heart of the McCarthy conspiracy is to rob the American nation of its right to debate alternative policies, to choose a social and economic path different from that advocated by the biggest Wall Street trusts. It replaces debate with the "spy" myth. This it becomes "treason" to challenge.

Democracy must rout the McCarthy lie that to support democratic freedoms for Marxists, or to agree with proposals for American-Soviet negotiations, constitutes "subversion" and "disloyalty."

Otherwise democracy will not win.

How to Fight McCarthyism

How to fight McCarthyism?

• Let us throw McCarthy's Fifth Column out of the camp of democracy—the Fifth Column of his Big Lie about "spies" in the New Deal and progressive movement.

• Let us realize, too, that McCarthyism is not just the person of McCarthy; that it is a social drive for fascist reaction and war. This push also comes from within the Billion Dollar Cabinet of the Eisenhower Administration, though the Eisenhower Administration and McCarthyism are not the same—yet. McCarthyism acts as a pressure on the government to toe the McCarthy line, and to soften the country for the no-negotiations stand of the Eisenhower administration.

• Let us realize that McCarthyism is not just a smear or an unproved charge. It is embodied in a series of police-state laws now being enforced by the Eisenhower Administration. These laws are the Smith Act, the McCarran "Concentration Camp" Act and the McCarran-Walter Act.

Every "loyalty" oath, every fear-ridden dismissal of a patriot who will not "cooperate" with the McCarthyites, every Smith Act frame-up, every political deportation, is McCarthyism in action.

• Finally, let us realize that McCarthyism withers in an atmosphere of peace, of Big Power negotiations, of trade with the 800,000,000 people of China and the Socialist lands. The swamp of "spy" manias dries up under the sun of world peace and world trade.

America did not take "the German path" in the 1930's. It is not fated to take that path in the 1950's. It is true that the war-hungry industrialists fear democracy. They fear a democratic-labor program to protect the nation from the effects of economic crisis. They fear peaceful co-existence with the Socialist countries, and they fear colonial revolutions in Asia.

But need our country fear these things?

No! A Great Decision faces our country—peace or war? Social advance or McCarthyite fascism? There is no doubt where the will of the people lies. **Against McCarthyite fear—courage and unity of action!**